l: Karsten--539
116, 197

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The ethnic and linguistic position of the Jibaros is unknown, and I have not considered this the place to enter into a discussion of that problem. That the Jibaros at any rate do not belong to the Arawak stock, as suggested by Rivet, may be regarded as certain. The instances of supposed similarities between the Jibaro and the Arawak languages mentioned by him are most doubtful and prove nothing, nor have any affinities between it and any other language as yet determined. Apart from this question, it is of course important to give as detailed information about the language as possible."

3: Simson--385 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 197

"The Jívaros speak a language of their own, Jívaro, and occupy the country generally from the Upper Pastassa to the Santiago, both rivers included, down to the Pongo de Mauseriche, on the Marañon. Most of those, however, at Pintuc understand and speak Quíchua."

3: Simson--389-390 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 131, 144, 197

"Canelos, the once attractive Spanish settlement, but now forlorn Indian village is situated on the left* bank of the Bobonaza, one of the most important, if not the largest, of the tributaries of the Upper Pastassa, and is inhabited by a mixed tribe of Indians, in whom the chief element is Jívaro; though [390] some of the better traits of these seem to be wanting in them. Their language is Quichua."

"* Professor Orton in 'The Andes and the Amazon,' says on the right but he never went there."

6: Fiornoy--333 (1936) 1937 Jivaro
116, 124, 197

'Contribution to the study of the Jívaro or Šuor Language' by Bertrand Fiornoy

This abstract was made between August 1 and October 30, 1936 in the eastern region of Ecuador inhabited by the Jivero Indians of the Achual group. These Indians live on the banks of the lagoons and rivers which flow into the river Pastaza, on its right bank. Later during my trip into the territories of the Aguaruna and Huambiza peoples, noting simply some differences in pronunciation, especially as regards the letter r. It seems to me that these groups, separated by several days of march overland or by water and belonging to the Jivero tribe, have no difficulty in understanding each other during their rare encounters.

Lacking an interpreter at the beginning of my investigation, I communicated by signs. Later an adult Jivaro from the river Huasaga who knew several words of kiĉua, served as interpreter with Mr. Ramon Olalla, the taxidermist of the Mission as intermediary.

22: Hamy--390 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 197, 174

"The Jivaro language, completely different from all the neighboring languages, clear and harmonious, expressive, energetic, would be easy to learn according to Villavicencio, particularly difficult, on the contrary, according to Father Pozzi, because of the uncertain pronunciation, and where the aspirated letters play a large part .... We know nothing of this language except the proper names; but the comparison of these names with the geographic and ethnic appellations which one meets lower down on the courses of the Amazon and its affluents, shows us such analogies, and similarities, that the common origin of the Jivaro and the tribes of the large Guarani group is, on this evidence alone, established with assurance."

25: Vigna--38-39 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 197

From the abundant material accumulated, it appears permissible to conclude that many Jíbaro words are similar to the Japanese. Moreover, some of the grammatical rules seem [39] to have strong points of contact with the language mentioned: 1) The Japanese language does not have articles; neither does the Jíbaro, and it also lacks gender; 2) The Japanese language has a special form for the positive conjugation, for the negative and for the interrogative; the same occurs in the Jíbaro.

There is still a great deal to be covered in Jíbaro philology, especially in that which pertains to the scientific part of the language.

There are, as pointed out before, only a few white men among the Indians. These white men collect rubber. Most of them live in Chachapoyas and its vicinity. They refer to the Indians as Infieles, while they regard themselves, in contrast to the natives, as Cristianos. The Indians use the term Cristianos when they refer to persons or languages that do not belong to their race. They call themselves and their own language Aguaruna. In conversation among themselves they use, what the white men call, Quichua. But it is a Quichua which contains just as many Spanish and Aguaruna words as it containsQuichua words. And the white men frequently have to learn this dialect from the Indians. A true Quichua Indian, whom we had taken along on our expedition, insisted that he could not understand a word of this language. An old man in Ja'n told me after my return that formerly, when he had visited them in his youth, the Indians had understood Quichua. Would it not be better if the white men would learn the pure Aguaruna language or would teach Spanish to the Indians? I have seen it in Huavico, where an old man from Huancabamba was living, that both things are not impossible. This old man used only the Spanish language. Consequently, all Indians in the vicinity knew Spanish fairly well, and two Indians, who lived with him in his house, knew it even quite well. During my short stay there I had the opportunity to make a short glossary of the Aguaruna language. The young nephew of the old man spoke Aguaruna well, and otherwise, too, in his mode of life, he had become half Indianized. Time and again I had to laugh upon seeing the strange

116, 197, 177

surprize of the Indians when this young white man addressed them in their own language; they circled him with awe, examining him from all sides.

28: Tessman--343 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 197

The Chiwaros are a rather homogeneous people; their language is extremely uniform. It is therefore not easy to investigate whether it is true that the Aguarunas are closer related to the Makas Indians with regard to character and to culture in general and that the Atschuals have a closer relation to the Makas Indians with respect to language. (This according to a settler and expert on the Atschual Indians.)

/336 cont./ Masses

133 of water, created by the melting of glaciers after the outbreak of
[731] a new stream of lava, have reached the low country of Mácas
and caused terrible destruction. These districts are also not in-
[823] frequently plagued by earthquakes. Thus the Indian knows from
his own experience the far-reaching, fearful power of the
volcano, which he venerates with only shy reverence from a
distance.

I should like to remark here that it is not, as is sometimes maintained, the inner heat of the Sangay or the bottomless masses of ashes which prevent climbing; on the contrary, the essential and sole difficulty lies in the magnificent glaciation of the steep cone, which extends down to 4,300 meters above sea level.

• 197 The language of the Jívaros is essentially different from Quechua, so that the Indians of Riobamba could not make themselves understood. It sounds beautiful and has a certain masculine
302 seriousness. For counting, the five fingers of the hand are used as a base, then one hand + 1, etc. To what extent higher number concepts are present I could not find out through my untrained interpreters.

177 I should like to be permitted to add in conclusion a few
648 words about the future of these Indians and the possibility of making our culture accessible to them -- Civilizatory attempts were never undertaken by the Spanish or Hispano-American parties; in all attempts of this type it was always only a matter of the subjugation and exploitation of the Indians. The Jívaros understand this well and therefore resist any intrusion in their
territory. The Ecuadorians can /337/ accomplish nothing by force. If the Indians are left to themselves, however, they will, as I have shown in the description of the warfare, gradually destroy themselves. After what I have seen among the Jívaros, it does not seem at all too difficult to me to fit this people into our cultural development. Intelligent, ambitious, vain, and endowed with a sense for clean, orderly housekeeping, it would be easy to increase their needs by the gradual introduction of European industrial products, to evoke the desire to acquire

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

It is not known how long the Jívaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists[2] to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg[3] has suggested that Jívaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jívaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Río Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. ± 440 years and 1041 A.D. ± 160 years.[4] However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jívaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Ipíamais," was discovered southeast of the mestizo village of Huambi in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra[5] in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of the Río Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric populations

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Karsten, 1954, p. 7, pp. 10–31; Harner, 1962, pp. 268–70. 000
2. Harner, 1962. The excerpt from M. W. Stirling's letter is reproduced here with his kind permission.
3. The first general report on the research is embodied in Harner, 1963.

CHAPTER 1

1. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, p. 175.
2. Mason, 1950, p. 222.
3. Greenberg, 1960, p. 794.
4. Determinations by the Yale University Geochronological Laboratories, whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Descriptions of the excavated pottery may be found in Herod, 1970.
5. Collier and Murra, 1943, pp. 61–62.
6. Jívaro is the name applied by Spanish speakers.
7. The "Mayna" Jivaroans have been reported in the Río Tigre region by workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Little is known about them, and it is not clear if their dialect is more closely related to Jívaro or Achuara, and whether they form a distinct group. [197] •
8. Personal communication from David Beasley, Summer Institute of Linguistics, January 1961.
9. Personal communication from Mildred Larson, Summer Institute of Linguistics, January 1961.
10. This estimate is derived from a house count of Ecuadorian Jivaroans made from the air by personnel of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. To arrive at these population figures, the number of houses sighted was multiplied by an estimate of nine persons per dwelling. The aerial survey data were supplied by Glen Turner of the SIL (personal communication). Not included in this total are some 100 additional Jívaro emigrants residing in western Ecuador near the communities of Bucay and Santo Domingo de los Colorados.
11. The reader is reminded that the "ethnographic present" employed here refers to the period 1956–57. By 1969, only a few areas west of the Cutucú Mountains remained completely unpenetrated by white colonists.
12. The Huambisa appear to be very closely related to the *untsuri šuarä* in terms of dialect and details of culture. However, they